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ZERI I POPULLIT ATTACKS ANDROPOV POLICIES

AU091137 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 9 Mar 83

["Andropov's Reformist Alibi -- Article of ZERI I POPULLIT " -- ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, March 9 (ATA) -- The Soviet model of "real socialism" has completely proved in its course of development that after every reform and readjustment made to come out of the crises the opposite has occurred in fact: The crises has become sharper, writes the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT in an article entitled "Andropov's Reformist Alibi."

Commenting on an Andropov's article published in the latest issue of the review KOMMUNIST, which dwelt on the economic situation of the country in the face of the bitter reality of its uninterrupted fall in the mire of the crisis, the newspaper points out that according to Andropov there are the shortcoming in the economic mechanism and not the capitalist nature of the Soviet economy which have led to unprecedented and successive failures in the economic policy of the Moscow revisionist leadership. And now he clings to the known alibi of reforms and raises the imperative need of alterations in the way of the management of the Soviet economy, of reforms in order to "give more freedom of action to the productive factors" and a wider field of action to material stimuli.

These reformist prescriptions have become quite stale. Who knows how many a time they have been drawn from the Kremlin drawers during the last decade, but they have been unsuccessful. Since the notorious economic reform, which was implemented on the basis of the decisions of September 1965 plenum which endorsed the counter-revolutionary process of the complete restoration of capitalism in the Soviet economy, time and again there have been cooked up some program of readjustment, or as the Moscow ideologists baptize it the program of the "improvement of economic mechanisms"! But Andropov is not satisfied with this marathon of reforms, in particular with the "hesitation" in the implementation of them and, now he requires to carry the work through to the end by further liberalizing the totality of relations among all the components of production and distribution and the instances of management, always in function of the free game of the market. Thus, the question is to go further in the rails of capitalist development!

After stressing that the post-war Soviet economy has never been so gloomy and with such low indexes as in the recent years, the newspaper stresses: There cannot happen otherwise, as long as colossal material, financial and human sources of the Soviet economy are used for the purposes of the aggressive, hegemonic, expansionist and anti-people policy of the new Kremlin tsars, as long as the laws of capital, the thirst for ensuring maximal profits which the restoriation of capitalism brought in the life of the Soviet Union are the "regulators" of this economy.

The endless reforms and readjustments which have been and continue to be carried out, the article says further on, are an integral and inseparable part of this retrogressive process. According to Andropov, the evil lies not in the counterrevolutionary turn, in the capitalist reforms which were implemented in the Soivet Union, but in their "inconsistency," in a certain "awkwardness" which is manifested for their complete implementation. That is why he makes appeals for a more radical reform, developing in width and depth all the integrating capitalist processes in the reality of the Soviet economy.

But this reform, ZERI I POPULLIT stresses in conclusion, cannot repair the cracks in the crises-ridden Soviet economy. Such a profoundly capitalist reform in the terrain of restored capitalism promises of nothing else, except for stronger blows to the victim of this crisis -- the multi-million strong masses of the Soviet working people.

ISSUES OF NONALIGNED MOVEMENT, SUMMIT DISCUSSED

Vychodil Article

AU091018 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Mar 83 p 6

[Frantisek Vychodil article: "On the Deliberations of the Seventh Summit of the Nonaligned Countries' Movement; Influential Power of the Present-Day World" -- uppercase passages published in boldface]

[Excerpts] THE SUMMITS OF THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES' MOVEMENT ARE THE MOST REPRESENTATIVE, AUTHORITATIVE POLITICAL GATHERINGS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES OF ASIA, AFRICA AND, LATIN AMERICA. THEIR STANDS ON THE RESOLUTION OF THE MOST URGENT PROBLEMS OF MANKIND CARRY INCREASING WEIGHT. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE SEVENTH CONFERENCE OF THE HEADS OF STATES AND GOVERNMENTS OF THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES IN NEW DELHI, PREPARATIONS FOR WHICH ARE PRESENTLY COMING TO AN END, WILL CONTINUE THE TRADITION IN A DIGNIFIED MANNER.

On the eve of the New Delhi conference, the external enemies of the movement again attempted to misuse the diversity and the objective process of differentiation of the developing world. They attempted to DIVERT THE MOVEMENT FROM THE KEY PROBLEMS TO PERIPHERAL, ARTIFICIALLY BLOWN-UP QUESTIONS ON WHICH THERE ARE DIFFERING VIEWS IN ITS RANKS. They continued their attacks on the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and on the USSR for the international assistance it has been according to the legitimate government and people of Afghanistan. Again there was a commotion around the Kampuchean representation. The Havana conference left Kampuchea's place vacant. Despite strong pressure, the Indian Government respects this reality at the present conference as well. The unsuccessful attempts to overturn this decision were replaced by tactics to obtain an invitation for Sihanouk as a "private person." Only the Kampuchean Government has the right to represent the Kampuchean people. The government, in an effort not to allow polemics which could weaken the movement and paralyze the deliberations of the conference, is not demanding that it immediately be invited to the conference.

A thesis on their "equidistance" from the capitalist and the socialist states is being intensively forced upon the nonaligned countries, as well as the false notion of neutrality and the assertion of the need to oppose not the plans of imperialism, but "the policies of the two superpowers."

The upcoming deliberations of the nonaligned countries must once again answer the question: Is it correct to have the same attitude toward imperialism, to yesterday's colonizers who are to this day trying to preserve the covert as well as overt forms of dependence, the policy of aggression, and nuclear blackmail, and toward the countries of socialism, which for years have been extending constant support to their national liberation movements and which today are helping to strengthen political and economic independence and waging a complex struggle to avert war and for the relaxation of international tension?

The United States' tilt toward confrontation, the militarist approach and the way of thinking dividing the world into individual battlefields, the overt support for the expansionist and repressive regimes in the Middle East, in the south of Africa and in Central America -- ALL THIS SERVED TO COUNTERPOINT EVEN MORE THE U.S. POLICY TO THE IDEALS WHICH INSPIRE THE MOVEMENT.

The countries of the socialist community follow with sympathy and support the nonaligned countries' growing role in international affairs. They believe that these countries' policy can beneficially influence world developments.

For years they have been helping to consolidate the unity and cohesion of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and have been protagonists in the growth of authority and the effectiveness of international organizations established by the nonaligned countries. They approach with respect the movement of nonaligned countries and APPRECIATE ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE LIQUIDATION AND AVOIDANCE OF CRITICAL SITUATIONS AND TO THE CONSOLIDATION OF GENERAL PEACE. Both groups of states maintain common or close stands on the basic issues of the present, on the solution of which rests mankind's fate to a great extent. They agree that there is no more significant task than averting the threat of a thermonuclear war and halting the arms race.

Attempts to drag the states of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania into direct or indirect military covenants and to expand the spheres of activity of the existing pacts to include them are increasing the danger that local conflicts will grow into an armed clash of world dimensions. The Warsaw Pact states have confirmed that they are not interested in expanding the sphere of their activities. Their appeal to the NATO countries to renounce the expansion of their bloc's operations to other areas of the world has also remained unanswered.

The New Delhi conference negotiations are also concerned with other peace initiatives of the socialist community. They include among other things, the USSR's appeal to negotiate limiting naval activities and expanding the measures of trust to the seas and oceans and in keeping with the efforts of the countries of the Indian Ocean, transforming this area into a zone of peace.

The so-called fight against international terrorism and other campaigns of world reaction in recent years convincingly confirm that THE FRONTAL ATTACK BY WORLD IMPERIALISM IS NO LONGER AIMED AGAINST THE SOCIALIST STATES ALONE, BUT ALSO AGAINST THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES AND THEIR MOVEMENT. IMPERIALISM IS AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE, AND THE COMMON ENEMY MUST BE DETERRED BY A JOINT RESOLUTE STRUGGLE, uniting all the efforts of the fighters for national and social liberation. Attempts to lead the Nonaligned Movement into a blind alley of "equidistance" are meant to separate the forces fighting for national and social liberation from their natural allies -- the countries of socialism. THE EXAGGERATION OF DIFFERENCES AND THE OVERLOOKING OF COMMON INTERESTS SCALES DOWN THE COMMON FRONT OF RESISTANCE AGAINST THE FORCES OF IMPERIALISM, WAR AND AGGRESSION.

The negotiations of the New Delhi conference will also be of extraordinary significance because a number of important international negotiations are currently stagnating. Broad perspectives are opening before the movement, as well as possibilities to contribute to developing the international dialogue and normalizing the international situation. Its successful, constantly growing energetic activities in the past years have established prerequisites for the New Delhi conference to become yet another significant milestone in the development of the Nonaligned Movement, for further enhancing its role and prestige in international affairs.

Kampuchea, 'Equidistance' Issues

AU081655 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Mar 83 pp 1, 4

[Editor Julius P. Loerincz Delhi dispatch: "Peace Is the Condition of Progress; Prior to the Summit Conference of the Nonaligned Movement"]

[Excerpts] The Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Nonaligned Movement which preceded the summit conference was concluded, against all original assumptions, on Saturday evening, instead of Friday evening.

This prolongation was caused by discussion of the issue of Kampuchea's representation in the movement as well as at the current summit in Delhi. It was a problem which almost excessively occupied the ministers in the last few days, as well as the more than 1,500 journalists accredited at the conference. This left less scope for the far more important and substantial issues of the consolidation of peace, disarmament, and economic advance. And this is exactly what the obstructions were aimed at, obstructions created by those forces in the movement which are undoubtedly linked with the imperialist and reactionary circles outside this movement. Singapore, Malaysia, and others in the end did not succeed in pushing through Kampuchea's representation by the bankrupt and compromised politician Norodom Sihanouk, who has taken it upon himself to head the coalition of the Pol Pot mass murderers and other reactionary Kampuchean elements, which are being sustained by foreign money and have had nothing in common with the Kampuchean people for a long time.

On the basis of the ministers' conference decision, the issue of Kampuchea's representation is not to be dealt with at the summit meeting; but of course there is no guarantee that some delegation will not speak about it. Kampuchea's place will remain empty, as it did in Havana. In the coming months and years the issue is to be resolved by the movement's Coordinating Bureau, as an ad hoc commission. Later it will report on its conclusions to the foreign ministers' conference in 1985.

Interesting facts are surfacing here in Delhi about this entire matter. A few days ago we informed our readers that a group of 12 people from the U.S. Department of State and other American Government institutions is staying in the Indian capital. Susan Johnson, a member of this group, has had several secret talks with a certain member of the Singapore delegation; apart from that, she and the other Americans are undertaking great efforts to make several of the movement's member states push through the concept of the "equidistance" from the capitalist and socialist states. In other words, to make them attempt to castrate the movement's anti-imperialist substance.

Of course, the movement is rather varied -- it includes socialist countries, socialist-oriented states, bourgeois-democratic republics, as well as feudal monarchies; and let us recall that, for instance, in Singapore 60 percent of investments originate from the resources of multinational monopolies, as the Indian press writes. It is through these states that Washington is trying to influence the movement, to disrupt its unity and efficacy, to push it into stagnation -- in the same way that it is trying to achieve in the case of the OAU -- and so forth.

U.S. Support for Sihanouk Criticized

AU081643 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Mar 83 p 6

[Jiri Roskot commentary in the column "Notes": "Why They Are Pouring Oil on the Flames"]

[Text] According to reports from Thailand, the Pol Pot people have again begun their enlistment activities in the camps of so-called Kampuchean refugees. In the last few days they armed up to 3,000 people and are now training them at their bases near the Kampuchean borders. The strengthening of the gangs that are penetrating into the territory of the People's Republic of Kampuchea [PRK[to engage in subversive actions is now assuming a yet more significant international context.

This Monday the Seventh Conference of Nonaligned Countries opens in the Indian capital of Delhi.

For several months the exiled Kampuchean reaction, assembled in the so-called Coalition Government, has been striving to push itself through as the representative of the Kampuchean people at the conference, with the "president" of the so-called Democratic Kampuchea, N. Sihanouk, as the head representative.

In this connection the Pol Pot clique, with the support of its bread-givers in Beijing and Washington, is striving with all its might to create at least the impression that the so-called Coalition Government is in fact executing its power over a large part of the Kampuchean territory. This investion also motivates preparations for strengthening the subversive gangs and for their further activation.

At the Delhi Conference, the point on Kampuchea's representation is among the most problematic, because the opinion of the movement's member countries so far is not unanimous; even now, on the eve of the conference, it has resulted in a new compromise: Kampuchea's place in the movement will continue to remain empty. It is particularly the United States that wants to make use of the disunity caused by this issue, as a chink which it intends to continue prying open. This issue would thus become a long-term bone of contention and should lead to a split in the Nonaligned Movement. That is also why the Thai-Kampuchean border is meant to remain a red-hot furnace into which one intends to pour a constant flow of oil.

Neither the so-called Coalition Government, nor "President" Sihanouk represent anyone. Not mass executions and graves, but life and work in peace -- such is the true choice of the Kampuchean people, which was also expressed in the April 1981 elections. These longings are represented by the sole legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people -- the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

BYDZOVSKY ANALYZES FRG ELECTION RESULTS

AU091254 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Mar 83 p 7

[Bonn dispatch by special correspondent Juraj Bydzovsky: "The Success of a Simple Slogan; on the Results of Parliamentary Elections in the FRG"]

[Excerpts] In his first statement on the results of parliamentary elections in the FRG on Sunday, U.S. President Ronald Reagan put his finger on the basic point: In his congratulatory telegram to Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl he expressed his delight over the fact that the elections have ensured the deployment of new American missiles on West German territory! This time, too, he did not forget to add "if no results are achieved in Geneva." The same was said by Helmut Kohl. True, Kohl is not ignorant of the systematic American efforts to avoid any positive conclusions in Geneva either. But after these elections it will be easier to start deploying the missiles. This is the worst aspect of the elections from the international point of view.

Indoubtedly the most surprising aspect of the elections is the extent of the Social Democrats' (SPD) failure. Almost nobody expected their share of votes to drop under 40 percent. Even the leading representatives of the Christian Democrats (CDU) had not counted on this; at first they themselves refused to believe the extent of their victory.

The elections were held under the open pressure of the large capital. The overwhelming majority of the information media constantly stressed that only the victory of the CDU/CSU could force the entrepreneurs to start investing more than they have until now and thus create more jobs. The SPD threatened a further drop in investment activities if they won.

The CDU/CSU bombarded the voters with a simple slogan, that to vote for them meant voting for an economic upsurge. In a period when the enormous growth of unemployment is causing dejection among the working people, particularly in the most affected areas, this slogan was obviously certain to succeed. This is also shown by the SPD's election losses in its traditional bastion -- in North Rhine-Westphalia, the federal province with the most heavily affected steel industry.

In assessing the results of the Sunday elections, it is useful to recall that, despite everything, they showed a certain stability in the division of the society's opinions in the FRG. The mandates lost by the SPD were won by the Green Party. The mandates lost by the FDP were picked up by the Christian Democrats. The Social Democrats together with the Green Party have exactly the number of deputies in the new Bundestag that the SPD had in the preceding Bundestag.

There is no question that there is a completely new factor in the Bundestag with the entry of the Green Party. First of all, it is the only party in the FRG with a parliamentary representation which is quite unambiguously opposed to the deployment of the new American missiles. When I spoke last week with Lucas Bechmann, secretary general of the party, he stated that on this issue his party is not willing to compromise. It intends to fight the deployment both in parliament and in the streets. Should the deployment of American missiles on FRG territory begin, the Green Party, according to him, is determined to carry out even direct actions against these missiles during their transportation.

Just now very intensive discussions are going on about the composition of the new government. Although the FDP remains a coalition partner, its positions have nevertheless become considerably weaker. Even prior to the elections certain CDU and CSU representatives made it clear that the FDP would have to be satisfied with a more modest role and abandon certain ministries. In this context, there is particularly the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is headed by FDP Chairman Genscher. Franz-Josef Strauss, CSU chairman and Bavarian prime minister, is stretching out his hand for his ministry. In the postelection interview he refused to make a statement on this point, but then he nevertheless tellingly said: Tomorrow I am flying to Bonn.

Nobody doubts that the FDP's weaker position and the CSU's stronger one -- in Bavaria it had its best results ever in the Bundestag elections -- has provided Strauss with a secure runway. The basically negative mutual relationship between Helmut Kohl and Franz-Josef Strauss is well known. But despite this they are expected to finally meet in one and the same goverment. Their coexistence in this body would not be without problems. But on one thing they would surely agree: On support for Reagan's policy. And this closes the circle of negatives!

COMMENTARY CRITICIZES POPE'S WORLD TRAVELS

AU091308 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 8 Mar 83 p 2

["(Vt)"-signed commentary: "A Pope or a Tourist?"]

[Text] Pope John Paul II is now on a 1-week trip to the countries of Central America. It is not his first voyage abroad. Even before this he had visited, among other countries, Spain, Portugal, Britain, Argentina, and several African states.... The question arises, why does the head of the Roman Catholic Church consider the present situation most suitable for embarking on world tours, especially under conditions in which his stay in some of these countries cannot be interpreted as anything other than political interference.

John Paul II declares that he is merely following the steps of the holy apostles. Of course, this is a somewhat conceited claim, to say nothing of the fact that today the church has its highly positioned employees in the countries in question: cardinals, archbishops, bishops. In the foreign press we have also found an explanation saying that the new pope "needs" the adoration of the masses and the pompous ceremonies to prop up his mental state. This is possible, but only in part.

Because there is still another aspect. John Paul II and his visits are very expensive for the host countries. The LOS ANGELES TIMES daily stated that the costs for the pope's stay in Britain last June amounted to more than $10 million, and the amount for the Spain visit in November was the same. Let us concede that the London and Madrid governments can afford this, that this somehow fits into the state overhead expenses. "The African countries visited by the pope last February are still paying for their hospitality," the American newspaper writes. And there is a qualitative difference here because there is poverty in Africa, and the money spent for the Vatican's greater glory could have been spent more usefully. Naturally, the same applies to Central America which, on top of everything, is shaken by domestic social conflicts verging on civil war.

Even under these conditions certain things would be tolerable were John Paul II devoting himself exclusively to religious administration and the prosperity of the lambs entrusted to him. But we know that, for instance, in Spain he openly spoke against two progressive laws that were being prepared by the socialist government because they allegedly contradict church dogma. This is political interference in domestic affairs, and not even the pope from Rome has the right to do this. We are not living in the Middle Ages!

John Paul II's ideas on politics are original. He has forbidden five Catholic clergymen in leading positions in Nicaragua to carry out "political activity" because he considers the local government to be leftwing. In other countries -- and we need not go far to find an example -- he is supporting political opposition by the church and even inciting it. In 1980 the Salvadoran junta ordered the assassination of the Roman Catholic Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, well known for his criticism of the fascist dictatorship, violence, and social abuse, directly at the altar. But, of course, John Paul II did not avoid meeting the junta leaders. And we would not at all be surprised if he were to bless them.

DEFENSE MINISTER DZUR PAYS VISIT TO LIBYA

For Tripoli reportage on the visit to Libya of Defense Minister Army General Martin Dzur and his accompanying delegation, including a statement by Dzur to a JANA correspondent, see the North Africa section of the 9 March Middle East and African DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Talks Held

LD100032 Prague CTK in English 1507 GMT 9 Mar 83

[Text] Tripoli -- A visiting Czechoslovak military delegation, led by National Defence Minister Army General Martin Dzur, opened talks with a military delegation of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah led by Brigadier-General Abu Bakr Yunis Jabir, chief commander of the Libyan Armed Forces and member of the revolutionary leadership.

The Czechoslovak delegation also went on a sightseeing trip to Leptis Magna with its ancient Roman monuments.

INDRA-LED DELEGATION PAYS VISIT TO KAMPUCHEA

For Phnom Penh coverage of a visit to Kampuchea, beginning 6 March, by a Czechoslovak Federal National Assembly delegation led by its chairman, Alois Indra, Presidium member of the CPCZ, including meetings with General Secretary Heng Samrin and National Assembly Chairman Chea Sim, see the Kampuchea section of the 10 March Asia & Pacific DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

BILAK RECEIVES PFLP'S GEORGE HABASH 9 MAR

LD092324 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 9 Mar 83

[Text] Vasil Bilak, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received in Prague today George Habash, general secretary of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine [PFLP] who is currently paying a brief visit to Czechoslovakia. In a cordial and comradely conversation the two representatives exchanged views on topical international problems, particularly the development of the situation in Lebanon, in the Near East and the current situation in the Palestinian movement in the light of the conclusions of the recent session of the Palestine National Council in Algiers.

The two representatives sharply condemned Israel's barbaric aggression against Lebanon and its policy of conquest toward the Arab people of Palestine. In this connection they described the plans of the United States as an attempt to prevent the creation of a Palestinian state and to exclude the Palestinians from participating in resolving the situation in the Near East.

On the contrary, they noted, the proposals of the USSR regarding the solution of the situation in the Near East are in principle identical to the plan approved by the all-Arab conference in Fes, which gives a realistic possibility to the coordinated progress of all those who are in favor of achieving peace in the region.

Vasil Bilak stressed that, as in the past, Czechoslovakia will continue to support the struggle of the Palestinian people for achieving their inalienable national rights and for achieving a just peace in the region.

George Habash voiced gratitude for the solidarity and support granted by Czechoslovakia to the Palestinian people and to their struggle against the Israeli aggressors.

TURZO RECEIVES PLO'S SALAH KHALAF 9 MAR

LD100012 Prague CTK in English 1512 GMT 9 Mar 83

[Text] Prague -- Head of a Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee department Eugen Turzo received here Wednesday head of the United Security Section of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Salah Khalaf who is on a friendly visit to Czechoslovakia.

Also present was Czechoslovak Interior Minister Jaromir Obzina and head of the PLO office in Czechoslovakia 'Atif Salim Abu Bakr.

HIGHER MANAGEMENT BODIES' PASSIVITY CRITICIZED

AU091125 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 7 March on page 3 carries a 2,400-word Frantisek Zdobina article entitled "Readiness Alone Will Not Overcome Barriers." The article deals with the "Prague initiative" of 1974 -- a movement seeking closer ties between research, development, and production -- and the failure of ministries and economic production units to promote this initiative.

Zdobina opens the article by saying: "It is strange.... The Prague initiative, which has on its shield the slogan 'For Closer Links Between Science and Production,' will soon celebrate its ninth anniversary (it was born in response to the CPCZ Central Committee session of May 1974 and its basic thesis is that 'the full utilization of scientific and technical progress is becoming the only possible alternative for further developing our socialist economy's), but on the premises of economic sectors and management agencies it is, surprisingly, hardly ever spoken of. And if it is mentioned at all, it is more or less out of politeness."

Zdobina then explains the principles of the "Prague initiative" (the creation of joint work groups made up of representatives of production, universities, and research and scientific institutes) and notes the "significant successes" it has helped to bring about in many Prague and Bratislava enterprises.

Having emphasized the merits of the Prague movement, Zdobina asks: "Why do the ministries, economic production units whose enterprises are in the capital and circles of experts -- who so ardently discuss the need to more closely connect the individual parts of the reproduction cycle and to overcome the barriers between the production on the one hand and science and research on the other -- have such a dismissive attitude to that which is being implemented directly before their eyes, is paving its way, testing new forms and contents and -- this can be said without exaggerating -- is developing under conditions which no lab could provide? The Prague movement has, in fact, not only affected the reproduction cycle in the capital, but is connected to virtually all types of social activity. As such, it is an ideal subject for study and instruction and an inexhaustible source of ideas and experiments."

Zdobina then notes the "Prague initiative" was given support by CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Secretary Milos Jakes, who attended an aktiv on the development of the movement several months ago. Nevertheless, he adds, "even after this aktiv, the attitude of the economic management agencies to the Prague movement has not changed in any significant way." The movement continues to funciton, above all, thanks to party bodies "whereas the economic management agencies remain passive, even though they have enough legal power to push through and introduce even higher organizational forms and thus help remove the barriers between production and science and development."

According to Zdobina, a broader use of the "Prague initiative" would be all the more desirable as it "seeks to fill the gaps" of the Set of Measures for improving the planned management system of the national economy, which "still does not stimulate enough interest in applying science and technology." Nevertheless, he criticizes, "the higher levels of economic management" have merely "registered" the Prague initiative, instead of "applying the useful things it has yielded and which it asserts." Zdobina concludes the article by saying: "The party bodies have done more than their fair share. However, as we know, revolutionary tasks demands the activity of the whole society and particularly that of the sphere of economic management."

PENTAGON STUDY ON SOVIET MILITARY BUILDUP VIEWED

DW101050 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 9 Mar 83

[Text] In Washington a new report on Soviet armament was published today. It was compiled by the Pentagon and CIA, according to an official statement. Arno Friedmann comments on the intentions of its authors and those who ordered it to be done.

Five days ago, the U.S. news agency ASSOCIATED PRESS reported that the U.S. Government's exports on East European affairs had confirmed that the U.S. intelligence agency CIA had estimated Soviet arms expenditures 50 percent too high in 1976-1981. This means in other, more concrete, words that the CIA had falsified figures with the aim of supporting official Washington's allegation that the United States and NATO would have to counterarm to make up for the arms lead the Soviet Union had reached by enormous arms efforts.

Now this falsification has exploded. However, this does not prevent official Washington from acting, 5 days later, according to the formula that a lie will be believed if it is repeated often enough. Today the U.S. war ministry, the Pentagon, published a new so-called documentation. It claims with reference to intelligence gathered by the CIA that Moscow strives for military superiority in all fields. Once again, the average citizen, but not only he, is to be terrified. I quote: The Soviet Union continues armament undiminished and has built up a terrible military machine.

Basically, all this is nothing new. Whenever U.S. armament is to be stepped up, figures on a threatening Soviet superiority have been published by dubious U.S. sources. Naturally there is a reason why the matter has been exaggerated especially dramatically this time. The number of Americans who believe the lie of a threat from the East is decreasing. On the other hand, the number of Americans who realize that superarmament only leads to a deterioration of the adverse situation in the country is growing -- a situation marked by poverty, hunger, and unemployment. That's why the movement for a freeze of existing nuclear arms arsenals is growing in the United States as well as in the Soviet Union. Therefore, the U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee yesterday agreed by a 27 to 9 vote to a resolution endorsing this demand. Thousands of people gathered in front of the Congress building, applauding Senator Kennedy, who said it would be better for the United States to have a government which would do more to prevent a nuclear war than to prepare for a nuclear war.

The U.S. President reacted with extreme annoyance 2 hours later, explaining why the Pentagon had a new study prepared on the alleged Soviet threat. The Soviet Union today is the center of evil, the chief of the White House said angrily, charging that the nuclear weapons opponents by their campaign helped strengthen the Soviet Union's superiority. Parson (Philipp Swerly), a U.S. clergyman, wrote on this type of lack of insight and military zeal: The cry that the Russians are coming is a pretext for the unbelievably high expenses on so-called defense and a pretext for the very real possibility of a global war. These are the very courageous words of a U.S. clergyman, who also added: For 60 years now the alarm has been given, and it definitely is high time for us Americans to say we have had enough of it.

LEUSCHNER ON U.S. DELEGATE'S SPEECH IN MADRID

DW091249 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 8 Mar 83

[Text] After a generally optimistic balance was struck yesterday in the final phase of the CSCE meeting, the U.S. chief delegate took the floor today at the meeting of delegations from the 35 signatories of the Helsinki Final Act. Guenther Leuschner reports from the Madrid congress palace:

The question affecting the political climate in Madrid this morning was whether at the plenum today the United States would set a counterpoint to the statements by diplomats from neutral and nonaligned states -- statements which sounded more hopeful yesterday than before, although a number of important problems remain unresolved. Every one here is aware that due to its overall political views the Washington government is not very interested in seeing this Madrid meeting become a confirmation of detente policy in Europe, let alone interested in seeing an entirely new level of negotiations opened through the convocation of a European disarmament conference at which the United States would have to sit at a table together with 34 other states.

No one here believes that this basic reluctance has changed at all. However -- and this is another question -- does the United States want to and can it risk a categorical "no" at this decisive stage of the Madrid negotiations? Today's speech by the U.S. chief delegate provided no definite answer to these questions. Strictly speaking, it contained a little bit of everything. There was the attempt to reinstitute the old formula of polemics and confrontation, and there were attacks against the Soviet Union, Poland, and Romania. There was also a meticulous enumeration of all the maximum demands which had been presented by the United States and the other NATO states months ago, which according to Mr Kampelman's words remain important for the United States. This speech also contained an incidental remark about respect for the statements by the neutrals yesterday and for their urgent demand that the progress achieved so far in editorial work be extended to the unresolved problems. Finally, there was a clear remark that nothing should be hurried because there was sufficient time and we should be patient.

No, following this statement there could be no doubt about the fact that nothing has changed in Washington's basic attitude toward the Madrid meeting and that the U.S. Administration views any progress here with utmost suspicion. However, whether the United States is also willing now to assume responsibility more or less alone for the failure of this conference and whether it wants to force such failure so to speak remained unclear from this speech. Rather, we gained the impression that an attempt was being made to gain time -- but for what? Perhaps in the hope that developments elsewhere could incidentally resolve Washington's problems in Madrid.

These are the very concerns which obviously cause most of the other delegates to insist on an early conclusion. This became quite clear yesterday in the statements by the neutrals, and some other Western states also apparently no longer want to follow the United States in this respect. Today, at least, Washington's representative was not supported in the plenum. His appearance may also have been a reflection of insecurity or nervousness. In any event, following the speech it is quite clear that all further progress at these negotiations must finally be fought for against Washington's delaying tactics, and that the United States must be forced to accept this progress.

REPORT ON STATEMENT AT GENEVA HRC SESSION

LD091647 Warsaw PAP in English 1449 GMT 9 Mar 83

[Report by PAP correspondent Edward Dylawerski]

[Text] Geneva 9 March -- The Polish delegation made a statement in the Commission on Human Rights [HRC] in Geneva yesterday in which it described the resolution concerning Poland, adopted by commission, as "null and void".

The statement says that for the second consecutive year the Commission on Human Rights was forced to take an action unfriendly to Poland, one of the original members of the United Nations and its most ardent supporters. "The resolution just adopted has been another miscarriage of international justice vis-a-vis Poland. We have not failed to have noted that again it was not supported by more than half of the commission's membership, and rightly so, since it defies the charter principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of states, it is contrary to established United Nations criteria in regard to consideration of human rights questions and functioning within the framework of binding international instruments to which Poland is party," says the statement.

In view of the foregoing, the Polish delegation reiterated that the resolution just adopted was of no legal force, unlawful, and thereby null and void, politically damaging and morally hypocritical. In line with its consistent position of principle, as a matter of political and moral decency, Poland shall not participate in any form of its implementation, the statement said. The statement was read by Polish delegate Henryk Sokalski.

Voting on the resolution was preceded by a procedural wrangle which lasted several hours and revealed that many of the delegations were opposed to another attempt at interference in the internal Polish affairs and harboured doubts as to whether the authors of the resolution were really concerned with human rights in Poland.

The authors of the new resolution on the situation in Poland disregarded both the opinion of Hugo Gobbi whose report, although anti-Polish, did state that decisions by the Polish Government on the introduction of martial law had been concordant with the Polish Constitution and international law, and the decision of the Polish Government on the suspension of martial law. They took another act unfriendly to Poland.

The Human Rights Commission was forced, for the second time, to take unfriendly action against Poland, one of the founders of the United Nations and its most loyal supporters. The resolution is a departure from international justice.

WIEJACZ VIEWS RELATIONS WITH NONALIGNED MEMBERS

LD091507 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 9 Mar 83

[Text] Warsaw 9 March -- We regard the non-aligned countries' movement as a very important factor of peace, strengthening of security and development of cooperation in Europe and worldwide, said Deputy Foreign Minister Jozef Wiejacz in a Polish radio broadcast. On many question, especially matters of crucial importance, our viewpoints are either very similar or identical. They include preservation of peace, continuation of the policy of detente and checking the arms race. The movement has great ambitions. It is conscious of its strength and representativeness, but, at the same time, it is no doubt aware of its certain limitations.

Most observers are of the opinion that in spite of difficulties, it will be possible for the meeting to adopt the final declaration, positive in its general tone, and also preserve the movement and its continuation on the basis of certain unity. Through statements delivered by representatives of our highest authorities, Vice-Minister Wiejacz went on, we have declared our readiness and intention to develop and tighten our relations with developing countries most of which are members of the Non-aligned Movement. This applies not only to economic relations but also political contacts, dialogue, scientific and cultural cooperation, etc. With many countries, especially with members of the movement known for their progressive development trends we are linked through traditionally close and friendly relations, Vice-Minister Wiejacz continued.

I think that the past year, 1982, has already brought some results. Although this is not yet a breakthrough, we have succeeded in increasing substantially our trade turnover with these states. We have our problems linked with debt, but many of these countries have similar problems. This creates certain common points and contributes to the development of relations.

The non-aligned countries, for example, loudly voice their support for the new international economic order. We support these ideas. Worth recalling is the fact that Poland put forth the initiative on building confidence means in the sphere of economic relations. This is not incompatible with the conception of the new international economic order. It even enriches the conception adding to it the Polish experience, said Vice-Minister Wiejacz.

At present we have to face up to greater rivalry, and even confrontation imposed on us by Western states, which runs counter to our policy. Of course, in this situation it is not unimportant how the non-aligned states behave. Here, I would like to emphasize that an overwhelming majority of these states comes out in favour of our conception of coexistence, which entails the strengthening of peace, solving disputes through negotiations instead of through military strength, and is against further armaments but favours the checking of the arms race and passing on to genuine disarmament.

These are the basic matters which bring Poland closer to the Non-aligned Movement, said Deputy Foreign Minister Jozef Wiejacz in the Polish radio broadcast.

JARUZELSKI HOLDS TALKS WITH GLEMP ON PAPAL VISIT

LD091846 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 9 Mar 83

[Text] Today Chairman of the Council of Ministers General Wojciech Jaruzelski met with Primate of Poland Cardinal Jozef Glemp. The topic of conversation was the situation in Poland after the suspension of martial law. Progress towards stabilizing social life and revitalizing the economy was noted. Common conern was expressed about the consolidation of these tendencies.

It was stated that in accordance with the approved assumptions and the talks in the Government-Episcopate Joint Commission, both state authorities and the church are working in their own appropriate ways to prepare for Pope John Paul II's visit to Poland so that it will contribute to the successful development of the causes that are most important for the state and the nation at present: civic cooperation, national accord, and normalization of life in Poland. The mutual will to play host to His Holiness Pope John Paul II in Poland from 16-22 June 1983 was also confirmed.

Glemp Departs for Rome

LD100936 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] Cardinal Jozef Glemp, the primate of Poland, has departed for Rome at 0820 aboard a Polish airlines plane.

JARUZELSKI ADDRESSES MEETING ON ECONOMIC REFORM

LD092047 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 9 Mar 83

[Text] The Economic Reform Commission has held a meeting at the Council of Ministers' Office. The topic of discussion at today's meeting of the commission was an assessment of the report prepared by the government plenipotentiary for economic reform affairs on the implementation of the reform in 1982. Commission Chairman Premier General Wojciech Jaruzelski said in his introductory speech that the decision to begin the reform in 1982 was [word indistinct]. No one apart from declared oppositionists, General Jaruzelski said, can say that we have wasted 1982, that sig ificant institutional and system transformations (?were not carried out) in the economy. Nobody can say that we have not kept our word that the reform will be introduced in its intended form. We must ask ourselves, however, whether the new solutions are passing the test in practice.

How frequently the expected results are not achieved, not because the system's solution is a bad one, but because elementary conditions have not been fulfilled in order that it may function. This does not always mean material factors, General Jaruzelski said. There are numerous cases where the lack of expected results is caused by insufficient elementary discipline in implementation. Even the best systems and mechanisms do not yield anything if elementary law and order, respect for the law, and a high sense of responsibility and duty at all levels of management of the economy are not ensured. The reform only creates the conditions and gives an opportunity for [word indistinct] meetings of needs, but only through well-organized and more productive work.

FORMATION OF SPECIAL ENFORCEMENT GROUPS BEGINS

LD091645 Warsaw PAP in English 1513 GMT 9 Mar 83

[Text] Warsaw 9 March -- Commissions for special order enforcement procedure now being set up in voivodships across the country. They will be concerned with special responsibility with regard to observance of order and special order enforcement procedure applicable to persons occupying executive posts in administration, state enterprises, other socialized economic units, schools and universities. Special order enforcement procedure will be instituted in cases of gross violation of legal order or failure to carry out one's responsibilities, resulting in serious social losses. Such commissions have already been set up attached to the offices of the Szczecin and Lublin voivodes.

The special powers vested in the commissions with regard to order are envisaging the law of 18 December, 1982, on special legal regulation in the period of suspension of martial law. Penalties envisaged in the special procedure are: warning, transfer to a lower position, dismissal from work or exclusion from a collegial body. The commission is composed of workers, representatives of state administration, tax office, the people's militia voivodship headquarters and the supreme control chamber, deputy voivode and chairman of the commission in Szczecin, Stanislaw Wojcik, told a PAP reporter.

The commission will decisively counteract deformities resulting from the fact that certain economic and administration executives have improper perception of the social principles of the economic reform and are aiming at irregular profits. Cases are also known of persons violating the legal order whose conduct is tolerated because of wrong conceptions of the principle of self-government thereby turning a blind eye to cases of dishonesty, said the Szczecin deputy voivode.

I believe that the commission will use in the first place material made available by banks, tax offices and inspection institutions, said the chairman of the commission appointed by the Lublin voivode.

We shall intervene wherever workers self-managements, supervisory boards and other bodies concerned have failed to draw appropriate personnel conclusions after establishing the occurrence of irregularities.

FORMER SOLIDARITY ACTIVIST'S TRIAL BEGINS

LD091652 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1600 GMT 9 Mar 83

[Text] The trial has started today at the regional court in Grudziadz of former NSZZ Solidarity activist Anna Walentynowicz. She is accused of continuing trade union activity at the Gdansk shipyard on 14 and 15 December 1981 and of organizing protest action against the introduction of martial law, calling of workers to remain in the shipyard contrary to orders of the forces of law and of persuading the shipyard fire brigade commander to issue vehicles equipped with water cannons to the strikers. On the first day of the trial Anna Walentynowicz submitted explanations about her professional work and her union activity. She pleaded not guilty and refused to provide explanations on the subject of the 14 and 15 December 1981 events in the shipyard and her participation in them.

AFP Reports on Trial

NC091750 Paris AFP in English 1741 GMT 9 Mar 83

[By Maryan Kafarski]

[Text] Grudziadz, Poland, March 9 (AFP) -- Anna Walentynowicz, a leader of the 1980 Baltic shipyard strikes that led to the birth of the Solidarity free trade union, refused to answer the judge's questions on the first day of her trial today in this town 100 kms (62 miles) south of Gdansk, northern Poland. Mrs. Walentynowicz, 53, is accused of having continued union activities in violation of Polish martial law regulations in late 1981 and 1982 and faces a possible three year jail sentence.

The former member of the Gdansk regional executive of the now-banned union looked overwhelmed today when, dressed in a duffel-coat and woolen hat, she was brought by three militia sergeants into the courtroom. About 100 people were in the audience, including former Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, who was accompanied by a visiting cousin from the United States, his chauffeur and a bodyguard. A hundred other people were standing outside the courtroom.

Settling herself into the witness stand, Mrs. Walentynowicz timidly raised her hand to make the V-for-victory sign. She also blew a kiss to her son and her sister-in-law in the audience.

The firing of Mrs. Walentynowicz had set off the August, 1980, strike in Gdansk's Lenin shipyards. The charges against her go back to the first days of the martial law proclaimed on December 13, 1981. She is suspected of having participated in a protest action at the Lenin shipyards on December 14 and 15, of having made inflammatory speeches and of having asked Gdansk firemen to stand up to security forces.

"I do not understand the charges," Mrs. Walentynowicz said. "I do not feel guilty. I refuse to answer questions on what I did in the shipyards December 14 and 15. I spoke there several times in different places. I refuse to answer questions about this," she said.

Asked to talk about her life, she said in a voice that echoed in the high-ceilinged room that she was born on August 15, 1929, in a part of the Ukraine which belonged to Poland before World War II. An orphan at the age of 11, she had a difficult life until her first professional successes at the Lenin shipyards, where she drove a rolling bridge, she told the court.

Decorated several times for her work and a holder of the Labor Medal, she said she found the actions of the communist party no more than a series of "rebuffs and disappointments" and that she "slid" towards dissidence and free trade unionism. Despite being detained by police several times, she said she held to her credo: "I will never renounce honesty and justice." Arrested in Gdansk on December 18, 1981, she was interned until July 23 last year, when all detained women were released. But she was arrested again on August 30 and this time was brought to trial.

During a court break, Mrs Walentynowicz's sister-in-law handed her a bouquet of tulips and then Mr. Walesa, wearing on the inside of his coat the badge of the Black Virgin of Czestochowa, Poland's patron saint, walked up and spoke to her for a short time before she was taken away by a guard.

Foreign reporters attended the session but were allowed neither to film or tape the event, nor to take photographs. After two and a half hours, the session was adjourned until Friday. A total of 11 witnesses are expected to testify. The trial was originally to be held in Gdansk, but the court asked the Supreme Court for a transfer, apparently fearing that Mrs. Walentynowicz's huge popularity in the Baltic port would lead to demonstrations.

Walesa Promises 'Tougher Stand'

LD092016 Hamburg DPA in German 1943 GMT 9 Mar 83

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Mar (DPA) -- On Wednesday Lech Walesa, former leader of the banned Polish trade union Solidarity, indicated there will be a tougher stand against Polish state power. On the periphery of the trial of trade union activist Anna Walentynowicz in Grudziadz Wednesday he told the West German radio correspondent: "We must take a more resolute stand. Our arguments apparently have no effect on the state power. I will now follow a tougher line. What should one talk and negotiate about when people are being arrested and sentenced? The state power is not honest."

Asked what this might mean in concrete terms, Walesa said: "Well, we can't shoot; we have no weapons. But we will protest; we will carry out demonstrations, hunger strikes, and strikes. We don't want to damage the economy, but we have to exert pressure. We have no other choice. My letters remain unanswered and our people are in prison. It can't go on like this. Either they will have to put a lot more of us inside or we will get the ones now in prison out." Walesa said "yes" when asked if he would personally take part in actions.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY ON RENEWED USSR-PRC TALKS

AU091105 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 3 Mar 83 p 5

[Tadeusz Bardzo article: "The Second Round"]

[Text] After a 4-month break, the Soviet-Chinese consultations aimed at normalizing relations between the Soviet Union and China have resumed. The talks which are going on in Moscow -- the previous round was in Beijing -- are understandably attracting the attention of observers all over the world, for relations between the two neighbors have more than a bilateral significance; they have a bearing on the general international climate.

Right now, Soviet-Chinese relations are weighed down by events caused by the ideological disputes which occurred at the time of the Maoist regime in the PRC. Since the changes in the Chinese leadership connected with the Mao Zedong era, possibilities have arisen for bringing the stances of Moscow and Beijing closer together. For example, the 12th CPC Congress which took place last September deleted the majority of the Maoist theses on foreign policy, including the thesis which said that confrontation with the Soviet Union is essential.

All this does not mean that the renewed dialogue will be easy. Each side sees the current talks from a somewhat different angle. The Soviet Union, which has been advocating the need to reach accord with China for a long time, desires a complete normalization of bilateral relations on the basis of good-neighborly cooperation. The Chinese side, which also stresses its desire and willingness to hold talks, nevertheless says every time that these talks are preliminary in nature. In this way Beijing makes it understood that a full normalization of relations can only occur after specific conditions have been met by Moscow.

Therefore, the subject of the talks is exceptionally delicate. They also concern the security of each partner, which has certain international implications because of the great strength of the Soviet Union and China. As a result, the talks are bound to last a long time. It is difficult to expect them to finish with the second round.

ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH GDR

LD082251 Warsaw PAP in English 2021 GMT 8 Mar 83

[Text] Warsaw, 8 March -- The signing of a joint protocol of the talks ended in Warsaw today a two-day working (?intercession) meeting of Poland's and GDR's heads of the economic, scientific and technical cooperation committee -- Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers Zbigniew Madej and Vice-Chairman of the GDR's Council of Ministers Gerhard Weiss.

It was underlined that the trade exchange between the two countries underwent a gradual improvement which was due [word indistinct] to the increased deliveries from GDR in the last months of the (?last year) especially of consumer goods. Simultaneously, it was agreed that both sides will search for possibilities of increasing bilateral (?deliveries) this year, above the quotas set by trade protocol, which provides for bilateral exchanges of up to 1,592 million roubles. The exports of Polish goods to the GDR is to reach the value of 681 million roubles, while the value of imported goods from the GDR is to reach 911 million roubles.

The protocol states that there are possibilities for a considerable broadening of cooperation and specialization of production. Polish side expressed its interest in technological cooperation and in deliveries of machine and plant from GDR.

ANDREI MEETS FOREIGN LEADERS AT DELHI SUMMIT

AU091938 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 9 Mar 83

[Text] Delhi (AGERPRES) 9/3/1983 -- The head of the Romanian delegation that are participating in the Delhi conference, Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs, had interviews with the prime minister of the Republic of India, Indira Gandhi; and with Giani Zail Singh, president of India.

The Romanian chief delegate also met Petar Stanbolic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of Angola; retired Major-General Antonio Bignone, president of Argentina; Muhammad Husni Mubarak, president of Egypt; Ahmed Sekou Toure, president of Guinea; General Mohammad Ziaul Haq, president of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan; Major-General Mohamed Siad Barre, president of Somalia; Kenneth Kaunda, president of Zambia; Yassir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

During these interviews warm greetings and best wishes were conveyed on behalf of President Nicolae Ceausescu, as well as Romania's wish for the further amplification of bilateral cooperation with the respective countries, the intensification of cooperation in international life, in the debate and settlement of the complex problems facing mankind.

The heads of state and government and the chairman of the PLO Executive Political Committee sincerely thanked for the wishes addressed to them and conveyed cordial greetings to the Romanian head of state. They recalled their meetings and talks with President Nicolae Ceausescu and expressed their satisfaction at the development stage of bilateral relations, and shared the wish of Romania's president for the expansion of international cooperation in the interests of the cause of peace, disarmament and independence.

OLTEANU ON CEAUSESCU'S DISARMAMENT CONCEPT

AU081351 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 3 Mar 83 pp 1, 4

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Concept on the Process of Military Disengagement and Disarmament" -- article by Colonel General Constantin Olteanu, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and minister of national defense]

[Text] One of the salient features of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's personality as a brilliant statesman, theoretician, and ideologue, as an ardent promoter of the freedom and prosperity of the Romanian nation and of all mankind's progress, is his constructive thinking and intensive endeavors toward one of the cardinal concerns of our times: military disengagement and disarmament. Our leader's efforts on behalf of that noble objective are supported by his comprehensive outlook on the contemporary world and highlight one of the aspects of the completely harmonious dialectical relationship between our party-state domestic and foreign policies, marked by the auspicious course traced by the ninth congress for the country's development.

The titanic struggle waged by the Romanian head of state and by all our people to alleviate and eliminate the burden and claims of the insanely increasing armaments and military machines is suffused by a model revolutionary militantness and by the elan and energies characteristic of a true communist, and is based on a profoundly scientific, materialist-dialectical and historical, original, and creative analysis of realities which never confuses objectives with potential.

The quintessence of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's concept on reducing and eliminating the vast technical means of destruction and the forces that activate them is peace -- peace as a primal necessity and as the axiomatic condition for the survival of the human species; general peace as the indispensable atmosphere for the progress of civilization and culture. The principal and essential means of attaining that objective is to halt the arms race and to achieve military disengagement and disarmament, i.e. to eliminate the material basis -- with its frightening explosive potential -- of the threat to the security of the world community.

Blending military disengagement and disarmament into a unique formula, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's thinking differentiates between the nuances that distinguish those two concepts despite their close relationship and interaction. Indeed, disarmament, as the most comprehensive expression of the final objective, is viewed by Romania as total and general in its optimal form. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stresses that in principle the contemporary world has the means neceesary for such a global approach, provided the governments, particularly those of the strongly armed states holding most of the world's military means and the monopoly over the means of total annihilation, have the political will for such an approach. However, since so far this political will is absent and since the fabric of antagonisms, conflicting interests and mistrust can delay a comprehensive disarmament solution for a long time, Romanian diplomacy -- guided by the actions and perspicacity of its most authorized representative, the party-state leader -- is promotign the path of gradual measures and partial objectives, which should serve to create the prerequisites -- even modest ones for a start -- for beginning the process of disarmament. Military disengagement is precisely one of the components of such a gradual process going from the simple to the complex, as well as an additional means of eliminating the material and psychological barriers that stand in the way of easing international tensions, in view of the fact that it can be pursued independently, regardless of the extent or scope of disarmament and of its speed or lack thereof.

Aside from political, economic, and moral considerations, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's endeavors are also based on a relevant examination of the characteristics of the military state-of-the art, an examination bearing the mark of the depth and skills of an expert on the object as is our supreme commander. Thus, one perceives the need to coordinate the efforts that must be undertaken to alleviate and eliminate the danger of a new generalized war; in particular, one perceives the priority that must be given to eliminating nuclear fission or fusion armaments, which can make so much worse the course and consequences of a possible interstate confrontation or of a new world war.

Summing up the reasons for granting priority to banning nuclear weapons as the greatest enemy of human life, the Romanian head of state stressed: "Both sides -- I am referring to the two military blocs -- have repeatedly stated the unfortunately genuine fact that they have the potential to destroy all mankind several times over. In view of that situation, one can legitimately ask: What is the purpose of escalating the armaments production? How many times do they want to destroy mankind? That is why we are convinced that nothing can justify an additional escalation of the arms race; not the cause of national freedom and independence, nor the cause of social progress, nor that of mankind's existence! Everything points to the need to halt the arms race, begin disarmament, and promote a policy of peace and cooperation."

In order to improve the international climate and to attenuate the acute threats to mankind, Romania and other countries have made extremely important proposals designed to totally ban all nuclear arms and other mass destruction weapons; make each nuclear power pledge not to be the first to wield them; give security guarantees to all nonnuclear countries; establish denuclearized zones in various parts of the world; and secure pledges by the nuclear powers that they will not use nuclear weapons, or force in general, against the nonuclear countries.

At the same time, the production of nuclear weapons must cease and existing stockpiles must be gradually reduced until they are finally eliminated and all experiments with such weapons must be stopped -- including underground experiments on which there is currently no ban -- the deployment of new nuclear weapons in Europe must be halted and those already existing in this part of the world must be withdrawn and destroyed.

The Romanian concept on disarmament, formulated and promoted with a noble consistency by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, addresses all types of weapons and emphasizes the importance of implementing measures such as: freezing military expenditures and then cutting them back; reaching agreement between the two military blocs in Europe on a ceiling for the major types of weapons -- aircraft, tanks, war ships, missiles, heavy artillery pieces and so forth; withdrawing all troops to their national territory and obtaining firm pledges by each state not to deploy troops on the territory of other states; dismantling military bases on foreign territory; renouncing maneuvers and displays of force and of troops concentrations at the border with other states.

Since military potential -- nuclear and conventional -- is not equally distributed among the states of the world and since the differences between the potential of the big military powers and the small and medium-sized countries are considerable, it is only natural that the process of disarmament and military disengagement should begin with the big powers. In that connection and upon the request of various countries that the disarmament process should be pursued so as not to create an imbalance that may threaten the security of one of the sides -- a request particularly concerning a certain differentiation in the reduction of conventional weapons in relationship to nuclear weapons -- the Romanian president realistically suggested that future rates of disarmament should also ensure a balance between large and small and medium-sized countries, so that the defense capabilities of the latter should not suffer in the course of the process in comparison with that of the former.

On the basis of his analysis of the current international situation, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized that disengagement should be given priority in Europe, since "the greatest troop concentrations and arsenals, including nuclear arsenals, are currently in Europe. The situation is at its gravest in Europe, where there is the greatest danger of a war that would threaten all mankind!" That is what makes necessary "military disengagement on the continent, without which there can be no security."

In the concept of our party secretary general, disarmament cannot be separated from mankind's other major problems. Therefore, it is essentially important to link the measures adopted in that area with efforts to establish a new world order, so that the resources freed through disarmament should be used directly for the progress of all states, primarily of the developing countries.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's approach to this vital issue for mankind's existence is characterized by a complete accord between theory and practice, as is the case with all his activities. Thus his theses and principles on disarmament and military disengagement are faithfully reflected in Romania's foreign policy, which is inspired by him and expresses his clear-sightedness, consistency, dynamism, and wisdom -- the reasons for his unanimous international prestige. Many documents of a major significance, worked out at the initiative of and under the direct supervision of our president, such as "Romania's Position on General, Primarily Nuclear, Disarmament and on Establishing a Lasting Peace in the World" (1975), "Romania's Position and Proposals on Disarmament" (1982) and "The Appeal of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front for Disarmament and Peace" (1982) have rallied wide international support and have had a beneficial influence on important European and international meetings devoted to military disengagement and disarmament.

As part of the same efforts, our country has made a substantial contribution to working out juridical-diplomatic documents to which it then subscribed, such as treaties on the nonproliferation of nuclear arms; on banning nuclear experiments in the air, in outer space and under water; on banning the deployment of mass destruction weapons on sea and ocean beds and underground; and the production and stockpiling of biological means of warfare. Romania was also the promoter of the ideal of proclaiming the first and second decades of disarmament (1971-80 and 1981-90).

The Romanian positions emphasize the particular role and responsibilities incumbent in the area of military disengagement and disarmament on international bodies, especially the United Nations -- the extensive representative forum whose supreme raison d'etre is precisely to establish a climate of peace and security in the world. As the Romanian head of state repeatedly stressed, the time has come to progress from never-ending sterile discussions to a comprehensive and profound analysis of the complex aspects of disarmament, accompanied by specific solutions that can pave the way for overcoming the current deadlock. Although these aspects are interconnected, one should not apply the "everything or nothing" type of reasoning to this problem, a reasoning that is sometimes invoked to justify the lack of power or of the desire to pursue positive solutions.

The experience amassed so far confirms the thesis consistently supported by President Nicolae Ceausescu that, in view of the nature of the international relations created by previous developments, military disengagement and disarmament constitute a difficult and complex process, which will take a long time and which will require partial and gradual solutions. Such solutions will remove the threat of confrontations and will also contribute to restoring trust and a spirit of international cooperation.

Viewed as one of the fundamental problems of the contemporary world, the achievement of disarmament is in President Nicolae Ceausescu's view conditioned to a decisive extent by responsible efforts on the part of all the states, large-, small- and medium-sized, in accordance with the need to democratize international relations and overcome bloc positions that have become anachronistic. It requires active involvement by all social and political forces and extensive and resolute actions by the nations who have become aware of the incalculable dangers threatening their fate.

The concepts and actions of President Nicolae Ceausescu on building a better and more just world on our planet, freeing the nations from the unbearable burden of the arms race and from the catastrophic consequences of war elicit a profound international response, thus winning the Romanian socialist state an international prestige that clearly surpasses its geographical and demographical dimensions. The contemporary world views the prominent personality of the Romanian president as a brilliant model of a clear-sighted and responsible, wise and moderate, courageous and dignified head of state, whose interventions in international politics harmoniously reflect the vital aspirations of our own people and all mankind's basic aspirations for peace, security, friendship and cooperation.

GNA DELEGATION RECEIVED BY FERDINAND MARCOS

AU041915 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1840 GMT 4 Mar 83

[Text] Manila (AGERPRES) 4/3/1983 -- An exchange of messages between President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Ferdinand Marcos took place in Manila, when the Filipino head of state received the Romanian parliamentary delegation led by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly [GNA].

From President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu the president of the Republic of the Philippines, Ferdinand Marcos, and Mme. Imelda Romualdez Marcos were conveyed a heartfelt message of salute and best wishes of good health and personal happiness, of progress and welfare for the friendly Filipino people.

Thanking vividly for the message addressed, the Filipino president asked that President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu be conveyed, from himself and Mme. Imelda Romualdez Marcos, a heartfelt message of salute, sincere wishes of good health and personal happiness, as well as wishes of prosperity and success for the friendly Romanian people. During the talk conducted, stress was laid on the importance of the official visit President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu paid to the Philippines, on the significance of the Romanian-Philippine summit dialogue, of the talks conducted and agreements reached on that occasion. Both sides considered them to have made a particular contribution to the promotion of peace, international understanding and collaboration.

President Ferdinand Marcos was highly appreciative of the Romanian people's achievements in their economic and social development, of Romania's independent foreign policy pursued by President Nicolae Ceausescu, of the Romanian head of state's initiatives aimed at fulfilling mankind's major ideals to live in a world of peace and understanding. Emphasis was placed with satisfaction on the positive results scored in the development of the Romanian-Philippine relations as a whole. Proper conditions were considered to be at hand for the expansion and diversification of the economic relations.

During the exchange of views on certain questions of the international situation, satisfaction was expressed at the fine collaboration between Romania and the Philippines within the UN and other international bodies, of the Group of the 77, of the Non-Aligned Movement and the two countries' and peoples' resolve was reiterated to take action to eliminate the state of tension, the serious dangers which threaten mankind as a result of the unprecedented escalation of the arms race, to eradicate underdevelopment and to instate new relations among states, based on the observance of the principles of equality of rights, national independence and sovereignty, of the peoples' right to decide their fate in keeping with their own aspirations.

OPREA RECEIVES VISITING CUBAN DELEGATION

AU081442 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 8 Mar 83

[Text] Comrade Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister of the government, today received a delegation led by Comrade Irma Sanchez Valdes, chairman of the State Committee for Material and Supply of the Republic of Cuba, which is on a visit to our country.

The guest asked that warm and friendly greetings be conveyed to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, on behalf of Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and chairman of the State Council and of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, together with best wishes for new and great successes in his activity devoted to building the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania.

Expressing thanks, Comrade Gheorghe Oprea asked the guests to extend, on behalf of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, friendly greetings and best wishes for increasingly greater successes to the party-state leadership of Cuba and to Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz personally in the activity he is carry out to build socialism in Cuba.

During the ensuing talk, the two sides stressed the positive relations of friendship and cooperation established between our parties, countries, and peoples and reaffirmed their determination to continue to develop cooperation between Romania and Cuba in keeping with understandings concluded by the party-state leaders of the countries. They expressed their desire to expand economic cooperation, intensify trade, and identify new fields and means designed for diversified bilateral cooperation. In this context, they stressed the contribution made by the technical-material supply bodies to expanding economic relations in conformity with the increasing economic potential in the two countries and the development programs of Romania and Cuba.

FURTHER ON ATTACK ON TURKISH AMBASSADOR

Stambolic Cables Evren

LD091738 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1605 GMT 9 Mar 83

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Mar (TANJUG) -- On hearing the news of the attempt on the life of Galip Balker, ambassador of th Republic of Turkey to the SFRY, Petar Stambolic, president of the Presidency of the SFRY, has sent a telegram in the name of the Presidency of the SFRY to Kenan Evren, president of the Republic of Turkey. The message reads as follows:

"It is with the deepest anger that we have received the news of the senseless act of violence against Galip Balker, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the friendly Republic of Turkey to the SFRY.

"We most sharply condemn this criminal act of international terrorism, the victim of which is the representative of a country with which Yugoslavia traditionally nurtures relations of friendship and cooperation. I can assure you, Your Excellency, that on the Yugoslav side everything will be done to hand the culprits over to the law.

"We are all the more distressed by this crime, which is without precedent in our country, because his excellency, Ambassador Balker, in his sincere efforts toward the further rapprochement of our peoples, has made many sincere friends and admirers in Yugoslavia.

"Be assured, Your Excellency, that the greatest efforts are being made to save the life of his excellency, Ambassador Balker."

Mojsov Sends Message to Turkmen

LD091916 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1814 GMT 9 Mar 83

[Text] Belgrade, March 9 (TANJUG) -- The Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Lazar Mojsov has sent the Turkish Foreign Minister Ilter Turkmen a telegramme in which he expresses his indignation at the assassination attempt and most strongly condemns the assassination attempt on the Turkish ambassador to Yugoslavia Galip Balker. This criminal act of terrorism was aimed "not only against Turkey but also against Yugoslavia and the mutual relations between the two countries", it is stated in the Mojsov telegramme.

Two gunmen shot the Turkish ambassador, who has been operated upon and is in a critical condition, in the centre of Belgrade. One of the gunmen was caught and the other escaped.

"This act distressed me all the more as I know Ambassador Balker personally and highly esteem his work and his endeavours to develop relations of true friendship and cooperation between our two countries" runs Mojsov's telegramme to the Turkish foreign minister.

Foreign Ministry Statement

LD091748 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1718 GMT 9 Mar 83

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Mar (TANJUG) -- In connection with the attempted assassination of Galip Balker, ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to Belgrade, the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs expresses deep regret and condemns this brutal crime, which is unprecedented on the territory of our country:

"The indignation and regret are all the greater because Yugoslavia, whose many citizens and diplomatic representatives have on more than one occasion been victims of criminal attacks, is fighting for organized opposition to terrorism, this great international evil. The attempt on the life of the Turkish ambassador in our country -- on which occasion student Zeljko Milivojevic lost his life and Slobodan Brajevic received severe injuries -- is directed against Turkey's state interests, and against the traditionally good and friendly Yugoslav-Turkish relations. The intention of the forces behind this attempt, which chose Yugoslavia as the place for this crime, is to damage the international prestige and the independent and nonaligned policy of the SFRY.

The crime committed in Belgrade on 9 March against Galip Balker, the ambassador of the Republic of Turkey, who has represented his country in a fitting manner and who has invested his energy in the development of comprehensive, fruitful, and friendly co-operation between Turkey and Yugoslavia, is condemned by the Yugoslav public as a grave violation of all human values and of the traditional hospitality of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia."

Ostojic Expresses Regrets

LD091831 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1621 GMT 9 Mar 83

[Text] Belgrade, March 9 (TANJUG) -- The Yugoslav deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs, Mirko Ostojic, expressed his deep regret to the Turkish minister of foreign affairs, Ilter Turkmen at the assassination attempt on the Turkish ambassador to Yugoslavia Galip Balker.

Mirko Ostojic also expressed his regret at the tragic happening to the charge d'affaires of the Turkish Embassy in Belgrade, Omer Zeitinoglu, [name as received] whom he visited today.

The assassination attempt on the Turkish ambassador took place today, Wednesday, at approximately 1100 hours, local time, in the centre of Belgrade.

Ostojic informed the Turkish foreign minister by telephone of the measures which are being taken to save the life of the Turkish diplomat and the efforts being exerted to discover the perpetrator of this crime.

The Yugoslav ambassador in Ankara, Redzep Dziha visited Foreign Minister Turkmen, expressing his deep regret and informing him of the details of this tragic happening.

The ambassador's chauffeur was also wounded in the assassination attempt, during which two gunmen opened fire on their car. Both men were immediately taken to hospital. Two members of the Yugoslav security service opened fire on the attackers, one of whom was seriously wounded and taken to the neurosurgical clinic in Belgrade. The second gunman escaped.

Belgrade City Secretariat Statement

LD091836 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1648 GMT 9 Mar 83

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Mar (TANJUG) -- A statement issued by the Belgrade City Secretariat for Internal Affairs, describing today's attempt on the Turkish ambassador's life, states:

"Following the attempted assassination, the attackers fled, chased by citizens in the streets. While running, the attackers fired shots: Zeljko Milivojevic, a student from Indjija, born in 1958, was critically injured.

"He later died at the First Surgical Clinic in Belgrade. Slobodan Brajevic, a retired colonel from Belgrade, born in 1924, was severely injured, while Zorica Zoltic, a technician from Belgrade, received minor injuries.

"A member of the public security of the City Secretariat for Internal Affairs, who also chased the attackers, fired at one of the attackers, injuring him. The attacker was in possession of a Lebanese passport in the name of Haroutioun Krikor Levonian [name as received], born 1960. The other attacker is still at large and is being sought. He is also presumed to be in possession of a Lebanese passport in the name of Aleksander Elbekiyan [name as received].

"All the injured were taken to Belgrade hospitals. Galip Balker, the Turkish ambassador to Belgrade, has undergone surgery; he is in critical condition. Slobodan Brajevic, retired colonel, is on the danger list. The injuries of the ambassador's driver, Nedzeti, are minor. Zorica Zlotic was sent home following treatment.

"The attacker who committed the attempt received severe injuries and is in critical condition. The investigating judge of the district court in Belgrade and the district public prosecutor carried out on-the-spot investigations. Inquiries continue."

Second Gunman Caught

AU101011 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] The Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs has announced that, last night, the second participant in the attempt on the life of Galip Balker, Turkish ambassador in Belgrade, has been apprehended. The announcement says that the attacker had a Lebanese passport issued in the name of (Rafi Alexander el-Erbakyan), born in 1962. The picture of the person concerned has already appeared in our information media. An investigation on both attackers in is progress.

DEPUTY PREMIER SUKOVIC LEAVES FOR PRC 9 MAR

LD100958 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0407 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] Belgrade, Mar 10 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Vice-Premier Dr Mijat Sukovic left Belgrade for China last night (Wednesday) at the head of a delegation to the third regular session of the Yugoslav-Chinese Committee for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation. The session is scheduled to start on Friday in Beijing. The mixed committee session will examine the results in bilateral economic cooperation achieved since the last sessions, particularly in industry, scientific-technical cooperation, agriculture and commodity trade. The Yugoslav delegation will put forward many concrete proposals for a number of joint production cooperation projects.

VRHOVEC VIEWS PROGRESS AT NONALIGNED SUMMIT

AU092030 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Mar 83

[Statement by Josip Vrhovec, member of the Yugoslav delegation to the Seventh Nonaligned Summit meeting, to journalists reporting from New Delhi, made in New Delhi on 9 March -- recorded]

[Text] Final appraisals cannot be made, but I believe that you all already know more or less that things are going well, and that we hope that the conference will end within the planned time. Very intensive work is going on in both committees, and also in the plenary sessions.

It is the wish that this summit should not only confirm the nonaligned policy and what this policy means for this world of ours and for implementing the goals in which we, as a nonaligned world, believe, but that the activity of this conference should be given as strong an impetus as possible. This means that the conference should adopt specific attitudes toward a number of specific problems and thus contribute and strengthen the possibilities for solving these problems.

There are various things and they are known to (?people). Special attention is attracted by such problems as the Iraq-Iranian war, the Middle East, and southern Africa. All these are very serious and dangerous crises, and efforts are being made to do something on all these problems to help get things moving from an impasse in a search for just and honorable solutions.

In the economic field efforts are being made to bring about a document, some kind of a charter on our mutual cooperation, that is, on reliance on our own forces. I have already said that, as regards Palestine, a joint position was adopted and an appeal was issued. As regards the Iraqi-Iranian war, we are trying to come up with an appeal for peace in these countries, although there are certain difficulties in this respect because the positions of the two sides in this dispute and war are very different. However, I personally believe and think that there are some chances for adopting an appeal which could be adopted by both sides, and this would, naturally, contribute in a positive sense to, and demonstrate the goal and work of, this summit.

And perhaps there is a desire -- if you have noticed -- that was expressed in the speeches of many heads of states: A request and a suggestion made that an appeal be issued to that other world upon which it depends to a great extent whether peace will be stable, whether the world's stability will be strengthened or weakened. This means a kind of an appeal, a request in a positive sense that common sense and reality be expressed to a greater extent in a policy which would make our world more secure than it is.

Another specific fact, which you must have certainly noticed, is that very many heads of states in their speeches, in an active way, while elaborating the importance of the nonaligned policy and its application to the specific conditions of the contemporary world, referred quite a bit to President Tito.

SERBIA PROPOSES PRICE INCREASES FOR DAILIES

AU090829 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Feb 83 p 7

[D. Bujosevic report]

[Summary] "The Council of Serbia's Community for Prices yesterday decided that the costs of services of social welfare can increase up to 21 percent and those of health care up to 13 percent (the services of accomodations and food can increase up to 21 percent), that the television subscription should total 280 dinars (now 220 dinars) as of 1 March and that the prices of services in river navigation can increase up to 8 percent."

The Council also agreed that the price of daily newspapers can be increased from the present 8 to 10 dinars. This price will come into force when the prices of dailies of most other republics also increase.

In Bosnia-Hercegovina it has already been decided that the price of dailies should be increased as of 1 March, and it is quite certain that the same decisions will be adopted by the Community for Prices in Croatia, Slovenia, Montengro and Kosovo.

The Council of the Community for Prices also proposed that the prices of bread made from flour type 850 should be the same throughout Serbia proper.

According to this proposal, 1 kg of bread made from flour type 850 should cost 23 dinars; a loaf of 800 grams should cost 20 dinars; a loaf of 700 grams, 18 dinars; a loaf of 600 grams, 16 dinars; and one of 500 grams, 14 dinars. However, this decision still has to be adopted by the communes.

BORBA on Dailies, Periodicals Increase

AU090831 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Mar 83 p 1

[Summary] Belgrade, 28 Feb (TANJUG) -- "On the basis of the coordinated position in all republics and provinces, the prices of daily information-political newspapers will increase as from tomorrow (1 March) to 10 dinars, while the double issue of BORBA which is published on Saturday will cost 15 dinars." In Slovenia, where 70 percent of the newspapers are sold by subscription, the price for newspaper subscriptions will be 270 dinars per month, while the price of single issues will be 12 dinars. The price of periodicals will increase 2 dinars.

Last year, out of 27 daily information-political dailies, 6 dailies operated at a loss, 5 dailies just broke even, while the remaining 16 dailies were profitable. These negative financial results were achieved despite subsidies totaling 1,022 million dinars last year. Only seven dailies received no subsidies.

Last year, the price of newsprint increased 65 percent and printing only 14 percent, compared to 1981.

MAMULA, ASSOCIATES VISIT AIR FORCE COMMAND

LD081633 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1335 GMT 8 Mar 83

[Text] Belgrade 8 Mar (TANJUG) -- Admiral Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense; Colonel General Petar Gracanin, chief of the General Staff, and other associates today visited the Air Force and Air Defense Command.

Lt Colonel General Slobodan Alagic, commander of the Air Force and Air Defense, informed the federal secretary on combat readiness and the moral-political state of the Air Force and Air Defense.

The federal secretary positively assessed results achieved to date both in modernization and in preparedness and ideological unity of members of the Air Force and Air Defense. However, Adm Mamula also stressed the need for making fresh efforts to further overall training of this branch of our Armed Forces.

LCY'S SUKRIJA VIEWS SITUATION IN KOSOVO

AU100906 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Mar 83 p 6

[V.S. report]

[Text] At a meeting of Communists of the local organization of the League of Communists in the village of Rznic the day before yesterday, Ali Sukrija, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, spoke about the world economic crisis and about foreign and domestic policy, and then devoted part of his speech to the Nonaligned Summit meeting and to the development of agriculture.

Sukrija also spoke about nationalism and stressed that nationalism is expressed to a greater extent in Kosovo, although in certain other parts of the country it is not resting, but is on the increase.

Communists are primarily responsible for this situation. The enemy has not been completely liquidated in Kosovo. His existence is nurtured by hostile propaganda from Albania and by Enver Hoxha himself who, with his dirty politics, is directly interfering in our internal affairs, while nationalists are stubbornly going along the road of hatred and destruction of brotherhood and unity because it is in this way that they realize their reactionary goals.

We had nationalism before the war and have had it since the war, Sukrija said, and I know that nationalism was the worst and most dangerous ally primarily for the people within which it appeared. We in Kosovo have the historic will and testament, which was left us by Comrade Tito, to protect brotherhood and unity as the apple of one's eye.

Speaking about the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, Ali Sukrija said that we must not allow the emigration to continue, but rather create the conditions for the secure life of Serbs and Montenegrins.

In this sense the working people and Communists of Kosovo are facing a historic test which we must pass at any cost, Ali Sukrija said at the end of his speech.

NIN COMMENTARY VIEWS 'BURDEN OF STALINISM'

AU092020 Belgrade NIN No 1679 in Serbo-Croatian 6 Mar 83 p 40

[Commentary in the "From the 45th Parallel" column by Miodrag Marovic: "Heavy Burden"]

[Text] When this issue of NIN reaches the hands of its readers, the world will recall a date which, in many respects, has become a boundary mark in the contemporary history of human society: On 5 March 1953, Joseph Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili Stalin, the man who made such a powerful imprint on this 20th century of ours, physically ceased to exist.

The purpose of this article is not to explain to the readers the controversial personality of Stalin, unfinished priest and perfected Marxist dogmatist; liberator of many peoples from fascist enslavement and founder of the gulag for millions of people of his own country; builder of one of the two most powerful states of the world and destroyer of the fundamental values of the October Revolution; inspirer of revolutionary flames in the hearts of communists throughout the world and destroyer of their self-confidence, their hopes and their faith; military leader who knew how to win the greatest and most difficult battles on the battleground and in the field of diplomacy but, who, in his egotism, miscalculated and lost where he expected it the least, as for instance, against Tito in 1948; a man to whom the door and the arms were open among nearly one-half of the world's population, but who ended up in total isolation resulting from his paranoid fear of conspiracies and the revenge of his own people whom he had led for nearly 3 decades.

On this occasion we are interested in his legacy expressed in a single word: Stalinism. Even today, 3 decades after Stalin's demise, this heavy burden still presses down heavily on socialist thinking and practice in all parts of the world. It is the cause and subject of bitter disputes among the members of the same movement.

Marking the 100th anniversary of Stalin's birth 4 years ago, the world public made a certain recapitulation of his role and of what he left behind. It was noted at that time that the previous discussions of historians and politicians made it difficult, "even from a distance in time, to determine how great and what his personal share was in determining the physiognomy of the Soviet state -- that is, not only of the Soviet state such as it was under his rule, but of the Soviet state such as it has mainly remained to this date." (L'UNITA)

This was an appeal to determine the characteristics of the type of socialist state which appeared beyond the USSR borders as a result of the revolutionary actions or the Red Army's advance in the final operations of World War II.

But the difficulties were more complex. An essential difference in views on Stalin and Stalinism clearly manifested itself among the communists themselves in the world. Whereas some saw in all that only "the personality cult" which "caused damage to but did not endanger the essence of socialist construction of the Soviet Society" (PRAVDA), others were pointing out the deep erosion of socialist thought and practice under the influence of Stalinism. And to make everything even more difficult and the division even greater, at that time it was only the LCY among all the parties in power which saw Stalinism as a heavy and deep decline in Marxism as a theory and practice, a decline which provoked new social shocks in the existing socialist societies and conflicts between the socialist states and communist parties. It was a confrontation between those who were not ready for any kind of analysis of the social roots of Stalinism and of its essence and considered it either as "a theoretical fabrication of revisionists" or a transitional phenomenon, on the one hand, and on the other those who, being aware of the long-lasting nature of the processes opened up by Stalinism, delved into its very core in order to pull out its roots from all pores of the society.

In the meantime, during the past 4 years, many things have happened to demonstrate how right those were who called attention to the deep and complex nature of Stalinism and its disastrous effect on the development of socialism as the world process. The workers revolt in Poland demolished the myth about the advantages and historical role of one single model of socialism. The troops of a socialist country entered another country (Afghanistan) where a Marxist party was also in power, after internal party putsches had been carried out there. And in China, the world's most populous country, deep changes have taken place at the beginning of a painful process of liberation from dogmatic ideas and practice. On the other side, in the Western countries where leftist coalitions or socialists have assumed power, the communist parties are intensifying their criticism of the Stalinist views that have been retained in the theoretical thinking and the practice of so-called real socialism.

All this has resulted in a process which extended the criticism of Stalinism to various forms of its manifestation. A gradual transition has been made in this criticism from the initial spectacular revelations about its most drastic aspect, its repressiveness, to an analysis of its essence and of the social roots of its creation. The scientific and public discussions have focused attention on such fundamental issues of the future of socialism as the nature of the state, role of the party, position of the workers class, freedom of creative work, democracy in society, democratic relations between states and peoples, overcoming misery and poverty among a majority of mankind, and many other issues.

Within this context, the criticisms of the Stalinist ideas and practice in the existing part of the socialist world have multiplied. To be sure, all this has been taking place and continues to take place beyond the borders of the countries of "real socialism," in the communist parties and revolutionary movements which consider democracy as an essential and necessary element of socialism. But although the uncovering of the social essence of Stalinism continues to be avoided both in the country where it originated and in other countries of the same model, the critical spirit of reexamining their own practice and also some theoretical dogma which are felt as obstacles to the necessary -- primarily economic -- progress is growing stronger in these countries also. The solutions which are sought for the increasingly complex contradictions of economic and social development fail to produce results because they continue to be kept within the domain of petrified dogma. Thus, the changes are necessary but their scope, the forms in which they will appear and the rate at which they will develop, cannot be foreseen.

It is certain that the process of liberation of the workers' and communist movement from the heavy burden of Stalinism is no less significant. In the past 30 years, the process begun by Tito in 1948 with his defense of autonomy, independence and one's own road to socialism has accelerated. The former monolithic unity based on the Stalinist concept of organization of the communist movement as a unified detachment serving the interests of the most powerful party no longer exists today. The communist movement is becoming increasingly diversified to the extent that the scope and the horizons of socialism and its increasingly diverse forms of appearance and of building new societies are broadening.

BRIEFS

TU DELEGATION IN ALGERIA -- Algiers, March 8 (TANJUG) -- A delegation of Yugoslav trade unions headed by President Bogoljub Nedeljkovic arrived here last night (Monday) for a several-day visit to Algeria. The delegation will conduct talks here on the further strengthening of cooperation between the Yugoslav and Algeria trade unions. Views will be exchanged on the situation in the world trade union organizations of the Mediterranean. The Yugoslav trade union delegation will also tour the building site of the Kedara Dam being constructed by Belgrade's Hidrotehnika nearby the city of Algiers [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1345 GMT 8 Mar 83 LD]

DELEGATION'S RETURN FROM MILAN -- Belgrade 6 Mar (TANJUG) -- Dobrivoje Vidic, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, and Vlado Janzic, executive secretary of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, who as members of the LCY delegation had attended the 16th Congress of the PCI, returned from Milan today. At Belgrade airport they were welcomed by Trpe Jakovlevski, executive secretary of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, and by Borislav Milosevic, assistant executive secretary. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1747 GMT 6 Mar 83 LD]

ROMANIAN PARTY DELEGATION -- Belgrade 7 Mar (TANJUG) -- A study delegation of the Romanian Communist Party arrived in Belgrade today. The delegation is headed by Ilie Matei, candidate member of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and secretary of the District Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. The delegation will be acquainted with experiences of the LCY in the sphere of ideopolitical education. Slavko Filipi, secretary of the LCY Commission for Statutory Questions, held talks with the delegation today. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1759 GMT 7 Mar 83 LD]